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young well-trained representatives to countries that are their main customers, to study the field for a term of years and to establish permanent business relations. An infinite capacity for painstaking effort and any amount of patience and adaptability are valuable assets in a struggle for the control of foreign markets; and these are eminently German qualities.

The chapter entitled "Germany's Political Turning-Point" maintains that Germany must modify her foreign policy. The Triple Alliance, never regarded by its members as more than a temporary arrangement, is losing its *raison d'être*. There are no sound reasons why Austria and Italy should remain in it, and Germany has passed beyond the stage in which she can regard it as very important. Germany must put herself on terms of intimate friendship, if not on those of a formal alliance, with the only two powers that are open to such an engagement—England and the United States. But an Anglophilic foreign policy would be difficult, in view of German dislike for England, and because of the keen, unfriendly commercial rivalry between the two nations. Since the Spanish-American War the trend of things, says the author, has clearly shown that the Emperor means to court the favor of the United States, and his diplomacy has already borne fruit in the settlement of the Samoa difficulty, in the acquisition of the Carolines, and during the recent troubles in China. He has, moreover, given adherence to the American definition of the Monroe Doctrine.

It should be pointed out, however, that the economic interests of the two nations clash too violently ever to permit of a close friendship between them.

The chapters on the Socialist Movement, the Polish Problem, and the Agrarian Movement are the best in the book,—thorough, judicious, and readable. It is impossible to understand German political life or to gauge the probabilities of the future without an understanding of these three subjects; and certainly it would be difficult to find a better account of them than Mr. Schierbrand has given. While the book as a whole attempts to cover too much ground and parts of it sink to the level of mere newspaper gossip, there are nevertheless chapters, like the three to which we have just referred, which deserve careful reading. These passages will command the attention of those who, realizing that the era of American economic exclusiveness is indeed past, recognize that our most formidable rival will probably be Germany rather than England.

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American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century. By EDWARD STAN-
wood. Two volumes. Pp. xiii, 410. Price, \$5.00. Boston: Houghton,
Mifflin & Co., 1903.

Aside from the government documents, this is the most comprehensive work upon any phase of the tariff question that has yet appeared. The writer was previously known to the public as the author of a "History of Presidential Elections;" also, in the United States Census for 1900, as well as for 1890, his work is to be seen as that of an "expert special agent" in cotton

manufacture. He comes to his task, therefore, with both literary training and the expert knowledge of at least one of the most important industries affected by the tariff.

"Light, not heat," should be the watchword of him who would approach the tariff question. One who is by nature inclined to "take sides," is by nature disqualified from giving an adequate presentation. But this is not saying that it cannot be presented from the partisan stand-point. A writer who frankly tells you where he stands, and who honestly presents all the facts at his command, is to be trusted by friends and opponents alike, whatever may be said of his conclusions. The work before us, to use the words of the author, "is confessedly that of one who believes that the system of protection has given an opportunity which the opposing system would not have afforded for the unexampled growth of the country, and who has not advanced this doctrine with more confidence or with more persistency than writers of another school have expressed their abhorrence for protection." Hence the work is confessedly that of an advocate of protection, who in effect makes for himself the modest claim that his zeal has not led him further astray than the zeal of others has led them in the other direction. A work so free from partisan rancor as Mr. Stanwood's is deserving of better company than that of the mass of literature on either side of this vexed question, a position which the reviewer may accord to it, even though the author may not claim it. In the selection of material out of a superabundance of detail for a history of this series of great controversies, much depends upon the judgment as well as the fairmindedness of the historian. Realizing this fact, Mr. Stanwood says, "However greatly the author may have failed in the exercise of good judgment in this respect, he is not conscious that his choice of material has been affected by personal bias, nor that any facts essential to the formation of an opinion contrary to his own have been suppressed."

Since the appearance of Taussig's "Tariff History of the United States," undoubtedly the best work upon the subject previously written, the excellent monograph of Hill's upon "The First Stages of the Tariff Policy of the United States" has thrown a great deal of light upon our early tariff history. Mr. Stanwood has wisely profited by these researches. Moreover, he has so thoroughly acquainted himself with the debates upon the first tariff bill (1789), that he has quite successfully refuted the claim that it was not meant to be a protective measure. It may fairly be questioned, though, whether our author has succeeded in doing justice to Madison, whose position he characterizes as "peculiar," and whose remarks upon the bill mentioned "are certainly not self-consistent." There is no inconsistency in accepting the postulates of free-trade, *per se*, as Madison did, and at the same time, for lack of ideal industrial conditions, favoring the policy of protection. This was the position taken by Liszt, Henry Clay, and many another protectionist since then.

It is impossible to speak in detail where so much ground has been covered. One must pass over the changes of attitude as reflected in the Non-intercourse Act, the Act of 1824, the Bill of Abominations, as well as the

battles in which Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Everett, Benton, and others fought their hardest. Some rather lengthy quotations are made from the speeches and from Secretary Walker's famous report, but the reader will probably not regret the addition thus made to the length of the work.

About three-fourths of the second volume are given to the tariff legislation of the Civil War and the period following. In this part of the work, which is certainly not beyond its due proportionate length, it may fairly be questioned if the author has maintained his former level of treatment. It would be easier here for an opponent to convict him of being a mere apologist of high protection for manufactures to the neglect of extractive industries.

The main criticism upon the whole work is that the author betrays some lack of preparation for his task on the industrial and economic side. To be sure, the work is true to its title, and is therefore of interest to the historian rather than to the scientist. We are told in the introduction that "the simple truth is that this is in no sense a treatise on political economy," and that "one may search in vain herein for any discussion of the theory of wages, of the wisdom of buying in the cheapest market, and of other philosophical ideas upon which men have based their conclusions as to the economic effects of tariffs." But it is just as true, that he who would write a history of American tariff controversies should be thoroughly grounded in the economic and industrial causes at work; for one must be a good deal of a philosopher in order to be much of a historian. Something of this would have saved him from such a statement as the "three great agencies" by which man's wants are supplied are "trade, manufacture, and transportation;" and again, from ascribing the cause of the crisis of 1873 wholly to the Civil War.

In conclusion it may be said that if one is looking for an investigation into the relation between the tariff and wages, the tariff and prices, the tariff and internal development, etc., he will be disappointed. This is no part of the purpose of the writer, and it remains yet for some one to perform this, the most valuable service that can be undertaken in connection with this subject. Mr. Stanwood is concerned with another series of data of a political and historical character. He has given an unusually readable narrative for such a prosaic subject, the style is connected and clear, the statements of fact trustworthy, and his opinions, at the worst, could with difficulty be proved to spring from "offensive partisanship." The work will doubtless be widely read, as it deserves to be.

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The American Revolution. Part II. By the RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, BART. In two volumes. Pp. 353 and 344. Price, \$5.00. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903.

Those who had read the first volume of this work must have awaited this continuation of the Revolution history with eagerness. Whatever one may think of the scientific value of the history, one can hardly resist the charm of the story. It would be hard to tell where the fascination of the